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interpretation of the theoretic basis of the great reform movement of the thirties. To many that movement is characterized by far-reaching modifications of the doctrines of the classical school, but not by an abandonment of their essentials. The "social responsibility of the community" was negative rather than positive, and was intended to prevent degeneracy rather than to promote advancement. Reform of the poor laws would result in social progress by increasing individual responsibility, not by decreasing it. Productivity affected *directly* the wages fund, not wages. Self-help was still regarded as fundamental. In theory, rigid individualism was still supreme.

It seems strange that such a comprehensive analysis of the views of this period should take no account of the doctrine of utilitarianism, which, by requiring that all theories be submitted to the test of actual conditions, influenced profoundly the viewpoint of the time. Nevertheless, Dr. Marburg's monograph is an able review of an interesting period in England's social development. Its style is clear, concise, and logical.

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#### NEW BOOKS

CROS-MAYREVIELLE, G. *Traité de l'assistance hospitalière*. Three volumes. (Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1913. Pp. 1829, illus. 36 fr.)

FOSSEYEU, M. *Les grands travaux hospitaliers à Paris au dix-neuvième siècle*. (Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1913. Pp. 46. 1.50 fr.)

HILLS, J. W. and WOODS, M. *Poor law reform. A practical programme. The scheme of the Unionist social reform committee*. (London: King. 1913. Pp. 64. 1s.)

WEBER, A. *Les miséreux. Troisième partie: Essai sur le problème de la misère, l'aide sociale au nécessiteux adultes valides*. (Paris: Rivière. 1913. Pp. xi, 493. 5 m.)

————— *San Francisco relief survey*. (New York: Survey Associates, Inc. 1913. Pp. 510. \$3.50.)

#### Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

*Socialism and Democracy in Europe*. By SAMUEL P. ORTH. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1913. Pp. iv, 352. \$1.50.)

*Applied Socialism. A Study of the Application of Socialistic*

*Principles to the State.* By JOHN SPARGO. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1912. Pp. 333. \$1.50.)

*Illusions Socialistes et Réalités Economiques.* By DANIEL BELLET. (Paris: Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1912. Pp. 198. 3 fr.)

Dr. Orth has provided the general reader with a compact and well-balanced description of the contemporary socialist movement in France, Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom. In the case of each country the main tendencies of both the political and the economic phases of the movement are analysed, and a sympathetic appraisal is made of the contribution of socialism to the progress of the nation. Everywhere the author finds socialism merging into social democracy, losing its exclusive class character and its revolutionary tactics. These descriptive chapters are prefaced by a somewhat less satisfactory general section, giving an historical survey of socialism and an analysis of its principles. The scientific socialist will hardly subscribe to such a statement of his creed, for instance, as is given on page 11:

The three theories that underlie socialism permit the hope of the possibility of a social regeneration. These theories are, first, that God made the world good, hence all you need to do is to revert to the pristine goodness and the world is reformed. Second, that society is what it is through evolution. If this is true, then it is only necessary to control by environment the factors of evolution and the product will be preordained. Third, that even if man is bad and has permitted pernicious institutions like private property to exist, he can remake society by a bold effort, i.e., by revolution, because all social power is vested in man and he can do as he likes.

The interest of the book is increased by the author's command of a fresh, vivid style, though lapses such as "the resistless current," "the unctuous doctrines of socialism," are too frequent. Very useful appendices contain translations of the most important party programs and election manifestos.

Mr. Spargo's work, which contains the substance of a series of lectures delivered at the Rand School of Social Science, New York, adds one more to the many attempts made of late to forecast the working of the socialist state. It deals with the main topics familiar in Kautsky, Vandervelde, Deslinières, Renard, Menger, Hillquit, and others—the unit of administration, the extent of private property, the organization and payment of labor, the incentive to effort, the status of the family, the future of religion. While not striking many original notes, the book

affords a comprehensive, lucid and frank treatment of the whole question.

In the main the author is a thoroughgoing evolutionist: the socialist institutions of the future are not to be deduced from abstract socialist principles, but evolved from existing capitalistic devices. The state, the wage system, differences in wages, money, these and many other features of the existing order, once scorned, are retained, at least in form, until the difference between this opportunist socialist program and the policy of an advanced liberal becomes largely one of emphasis. A typical instance of Mr. Spargo's attitude and of the difficulties in which he becomes involved is afforded by his treatment of the industrial organization of the socialist state. Following Kautsky, he makes the state the dominant unit of production, but permits coöperative societies and individuals to work alongside. Thus freedom is saved, but at the loss of the efficiency, based on centralized control, promised by socialists who denounce the free competition and wasteful duplication of effort of existing society. At the same time, no reason is apparent for the exclusion from a state which is to evolve gradually from the present state, of production by individuals employing other workers, on terms as to hours, wages, and so forth equivalent to those afforded by the state, unless the reason is a natural unwillingness to abandon the orthodox position that exploitation is inherent in the wage relation. Little comfort is given the syndicalist, or even the more modest advocate of labor unionism; not only are the claims of the labor union to become the unit of administration and of election of officials rejected, but repressive measures are foreshadowed:

We can hardly escape the conclusion that the attitude which the labor unions of today very properly take in industrial conflicts would not be tolerated if adopted against the State. In self-protection the State would be obliged to treat as treasonable, acts which are perfectly proper and justifiable when directed against individual or corporate employers.

Evidently the Haywoods and the Ettors of the future socialist state will still have a mission.

Mr. Spargo carries the war into Africa by charging the existing state with excess of bureaucracy and consequent loss of freedom, in its endeavor to regulate corporate wealth. He has also a good chapter on the incentive to effort under socialism, though attention, as usual, is concentrated too exclusively on the genius burning to deliver his message whatever the cost, and not suffi-

ciently on the average man with little primary interest in his task. A chapter emphasizing the neutral position of socialism as regards religion completes a readable and well-rounded treatment.

Dr. Orth, a sympathetic critic of socialism, and M. Bellet, a sharply hostile critic, agree in terming socialistic every intervention of the state beyond the administration of justice. "Whatever extends the functions of the state over property or into activities formerly left to individuals or to the home is an indication of the socialist trend," declares the former, and the professor of L'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques includes under the head of socialist illusions practically every recent tendency of labor legislation. Surely it is possible to discriminate between state intervention which really buttresses private property and intervention which saps its supports. However that may be, M. Bellet's criticisms are well worth weighing. He will probably not find many Americans to agree with his rigidly laissez-faire position, but his book will prove a healthy tonic for flabby sentimentalism and uncritical acceptance of popular fads. In the first part he reviews the experience of the leading countries in arbitration of labor disputes, condemning strongly the proposal to introduce compulsory arbitration in France. The second part contains an incisive analysis of profit sharing, the premium system, sliding scales, and other modifications of the wage system, leading to the conclusion that the straight wage system is the most permanently satisfactory. The third section reviews the Australasian experiments in "state socialism." While there is some lack of detailed and first-hand information, the criticisms are pertinent and forceful.

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#### NEW BOOKS

- ADAMS, E. F. *The case against socialism.* (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co. 1913.)
- BENSON, A. L. *The truth about socialism.* (New York: Huebsch. 1913. Pp. 188. \$1.)
- BREWER, G. D. *The rights of the masses.* (Chicago: Kerr. 1913. Pp. 32. 10c.)
- CREEL, H. G. *Fact and fraud; a lecture making socialism plain.* (St. Louis: National Rip-Saw Pub. Co. 1913. Pp. 40. 10c.)
- FAY, C. R. *Copartnership in industry.* Cambridge manuals of science and literature. (New York: Putnam. 1913. Pp. 154.)